

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

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FOR ASST SECY SISCO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, CY, IR

SUBJ: CYPRUS: IS THE OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ANKARA ATHENS LONDON
USUN NEW YORK USMISSION NATO USDOCOSOUTH USEUCOM FROM
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TAGS: PFOR PGOV CY GR TU

SUBJECT: CYPRUS: IS THE OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?

REF: STATE 107202, 97565, ANKARA 4186; USUN 2112; LONDON 6628

SUMMARY: MANY OF THOSE CLOSEST TO CYPRUS PROBLEM ARE TAKING VERY
OPTIMISTIC PUBLIC POSTURE, BUT WE SEE NO EVIDENCE OF RECENT BREAK-
THOUGHTS ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AND BELIEVE AGREEMENT IN NEXT
FEW MONTHS LESS THAN LIKELY. ATHENS DOES APPEAR TO HAVE ABSORBED
LESSON THAT GRIVAS WAS HURTING ITS OWN INTERESTS. IT IS
SUPPORTING CLERIDES AND TALKS, BUT WE SUSPECT IT STILL HOPES TO
ISOLATE MAKARION. WE ARE FRANKLY IN DOUBT AS TO WHETHER
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ANAKARA AND ATHENS REALLY EXPECT THAT
COMPROMISES CAN BE MADE WHICH WILL PERMIT TALKS TO SUCCEED.
WE SEE SOME SIGNS THAT PARENT COUNTRIES ARE CONSIDERING IMPOSING
A SOLUTION (WHICH WE DO NOT THINK WOULD WORK), BUT WE

SUSPECT THEY ARE SIMPLY AMBIVALENT. END SUMMARY.

1. MANY OF PARTIES MOST CONCERNED WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM HAVE BEEN SOUNDING UNUSUALLY OPTIMISTIC LATELY ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR INTERCOMMUNAL SETTLEMENT. CLERIDES AND OSORIO- TAFALL HAVE TALKED OF POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE IN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS. TURKISH AND GREEK CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS ARE HOPEFUL, FORMER VOCALLY SO, LATTER (ACCORDING GREEK EMB) NEARLY EQUALLY CONFIDENT. BRITISH HAVE NOTED RARE SIGNS OF OPTIMISM ON PART OF TURKISH FOM MIN AND OTHE HIGH GOT OFFICALS (LONDON REFTEL). AND MANY OBSERVERS HERE INTERPRET RECENT GREEK GOVT CONSULTATIONS WITH CLERIDES AS DEMONSTRATING CONFIDENCE IN -- AND GIVING IMPETUS TO -- INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

2. TWO KEY PLAYES HAVE NOT BEEN SWEEPED UP IN EUPHORIA. MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH HAVE REPEATEDLY CAUTIONED THAT HARDEST PROBLEMS LIE AHEAD AND THAT IT IS TOO SOON TO PREDICT SETTLEMENT. ET DENKTASH IS SAID TO BE MORE MODERATE AT NEGOTIATING TABLE THAN IN PUBLIC, AND MAKARIOS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR TALKS AS ONLY FEASIBLE PATH TO SOLUTION.

3. IN CONSIDERING WHETHER CURRENT WAVE OF OPTIMISM IS WARRANGED, TWO QUESTIONS SEEM PERTINENT. FIRST, ON BASIS OF WHAT WE KNOW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR, DO CHANCES OF SETTLEMENT LOOK APPRECIABLY BRIGHTER THAN BEFORE? SECOND, IS OPTIMISM GENUINE, OR IS IT SMOKESCREEN FOR GREECE AND TURKEY TO IMPOSE SETTLEMENT ON THEIR OWN TERMS?

4. NOTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED IN TALKS SEEMS TO US TO JUSTIFY CONFIDENCE OF MOST PARTICIPANTS. NOW AS BEFORE, CENTRAL ISSUE IS EXTENT OF TURK CYPRIOT AUTONOMY; HERE TWO SIDES APPEAR TO BE AS FAR APART AS WHEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH REACHED IMPASSE ALMOST THREE YEARS AGO. TURKSIH
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SIDE IS WILLING TO ACCEPT JUDICIAL CONTROL OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, OR CONTROL BY TURK CYPRIOT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (BUT APPARENTLY STILL INSISTS TURKISH VP BE FORMAL CHIEF OF TURKISH COMMUNAL STRUCTURE) . IT WILL NOT CONSIDER PUTTING LOCAL AUTHORITIES UNDER EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVT OR UNDER PARLIAMENT AS WHOLE.

5. ON OTHER SIDE OF EQUATION, ATMOSPHERE OF TALKS HAS BEEN MODERATE AND BUSINESSLIKE, NEGOTIATORS WORK WELL TOGETHER, AND CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL STAKE IN SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME IS DEVELOPING. THESE FACTORS ARE OBVIOUSLY SECONDARY TO PROGRESS ON HARD, SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. AT SAME TIME, THEY ARE NOT INSIGNIFICANT, FLR LACK OF GOOD

WILL HAS HERETOFORE BEEN ONE OF MAIN IMPEDIMENTS TO PROGRESS.

6. AT PRESENT JUNCTURE OF CYPRUS PROBLEM MOST CURIOS FEATURE IS THAT TWO SEPARATE AND MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE STRAINS HAVE BECOME APPARENT. WHILE CONFIDENCE IS BEING VOICED IN SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, THERE ARE CLEAR SIGNS (AS DEPT HAS NOTED) OF TURKISH AND GREEK INTENTION TO INFLUENCE CYPRUS EQUATION OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK OF TALKS. STATEMENTS BY BARUTCU AND INHAN THAT NO AGREEMENT POSSIBLE WHILE MAKARIOS REMAINS IN POWER ARE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES, WHILE ESENBEL SUGGESTION FOR INTRODUCTION OF ADDITIONAL GREEK AND TURKISH TROOPS REFLECTS SIMILAR APPRAISAL FO DIRECTION IN WHICH EVENTS ARE MOVING.

7. PRESENT GREEK POLICY TOWARD CYPRUS IS, TO US AT LEAST, EVEN MORE PUZZLING (AND SEEMINGLY FURTHER BELOW SURFACE) THAN THAT OF TURKEY. THERE ARE NUMEROUS SIGNS THAT ATHENS IS SERIOUSLY WORKING FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH IS REINING IN OF GRIVAS. GRIVAS FOLLOWERS HAVE DEFINITELY GOTTEN THE WORD. ENOSIS COORDINATION COMMITTEE (ESEA) RECENTLY ISSUED TORTUOUS -- AND CLEARLY FORCED -- DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR LOCAL TALKS, WHILE IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION ESEA LEADERS STRONGLY CRITICIZE GOG FOR HAVING BETRAYED GRIVAS AND CAUSE OF ENOSIS. RECENT DEMONSTRATION OF ENOTISTS' SENSITIVITY TO CHARGES OF CONTINUING VIOLENCE OCCURRED JUNE 5 WHEN ARMED GRIVASITES ROUNDED UP LEFTISTS IN AVGOROU VILLAGE -- ONLY TO TELL
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THEM THAT PREVIOUS BEATING OF TWO VILLAGERS WAS NOT GRIVAS' DOING.

8. ATHENS SEEMS TO HAVE DRAWN LESSON THAT GRIVAS TERROSIM WAS DEAD END, AND TOHAVE RECOGNIZED THAT GENERAL' S ACTIVITIES THREATENED GREECE' S POLICIES OF SUPPORT FOR LOCAL TALKS AND RAPPROCHEMENT WITH TURKEY (STATE 97565 AND NICOSIA 970). CLERDES' PROTESTS AND ANKARA' S REPRESENTATIONS BOTH PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO GOG DECISION. AT SAME TIME, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT ONE GOAL OF GREEK POLICY CONTINUES TO BE UNDERCUT AND ISOLATE ARCHBISHOP. RED CARPET TREATMENT ACCORDED CLERIDES IN ATHENS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN IN PART DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT HE IS MAN WHO, IF GIVEN THE CHANGE, CAN NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT. (TURKS OF COURSE REGARD CLERIDES AS PEST POSSIBLE POTENTIAL GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER) MEANWHILE, GRIVAS REMAINS ON ISLAND, HIS FORCE UNDIMINISHED, READY AND WAITING FOR ACTION. (AS THIS BEING DRAFTED, WE HEAR THAT THIS MORNING 50 ARMED, MASKEDMEN ATTACKED POLICE STATION AT VATYLI IN BROAD DAYLIGHT -- SEPTTEL.)

9. CHURCH SCHISM ALSO CONTINUES HANG OVER ARCHBISHOP' S

HEAD. RECENT DECISION BY GREEK HOLY SYNOD' S CANON LAW COMMITTEE RECOGNIZING VALIDITY OF CYPRUS BISHOPS' DEFROCKING OF ARCHBISHOP HAS UNDERCUT SOMEWHAT MAKARIOS' POSITION AT MAJOR SYNOD OF PATRIARCHS. CANON LAW COMMITTEE ACTION WAS TOTALLY UNEXPECTED BY GREEK CYPRIOTS. WE UNDERSTAND MOVE WAS INITIATED BY GOG- APPOINTED CANON LAW EXPERT MOURATIDES, AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IF EMBASSY ATHENS CAN SHED LIGHT ON HIS MOTIVATION.

10. WE DO NOT THINK EVIDENCE POINTS TO ACTIVE COLLUSION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY TO IMPOSE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. YET PARENT COUNTRIES SEEM UNABLE EXERCISE VISION OF ISOLATING MAKARIOS, SUBSTITUTING CLERIDES AND SETTLING PROBLEM ONCE AND FOR ALL. WE AGREE ENTIRELY WITH DEPT THAT MAINLAND COUNTRIES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL ON ISLAND WITHOUT VIOLENCE.

11. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL IN HISTORY OF CYPRUS PROBLEM
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FOR PARTIES TO FOLLOW SEVERAL CONTRADICTORY STRANDS OF POLICY AT SAME TIME. THIS SEEMS TO BE HAPPENING NOW, AND IT IS WORTH UNDERLINING IF ONLY TO DAMPEN OPTIMISM THAT STEMS FROM IMPRESSION THAT PARTIES ARE STAKING EVERYTHING ON INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. ADDS AGAINST SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF TALKS IN COMING MONTHS ARE, WE BELIEVE, STILL LESS THAN EVEN. GRANT UNQUOTE RUSH

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